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ACTION (APR-98)

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AMEMBASSY BEIJING
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INFO/ENR/MAIT/TAIWAN
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMCONSUL CHENGDU (POUCH)

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
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FILE

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CONFIDENTIAL BEIJING 16608

E.S.12256:DEC:J7/04/98
TAGS: PCOV, PHUM, PINE, CH
SUBJECT: TFCB01 - BRIEFING THE ORDINARY FOLKS ON
STUDYING DENG'S ANALYSIS

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
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2. SUMMARY: IN A JUNE 17 STUDY SESSION, ACCORDING TO AN ORDINARY CITIZEN PARTICIPANT, DENG XIAOPING'S JUNE 9 ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENTS IN BEIJING SINCE APRIL WAS SET FORTH FOR ALL TO LEARN. REPORTEDLY, DENG POINTED OUT THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE STUDENTS' MINIMUM DEMANDS (TO BE RECOGNIZED AS A PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT AND AS LEGAL) AS WELL AS THEIR MAXIMUM OBJECTIVES (GOVERNMENT RUN BY THE MOST CAPABLE AND A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM). THE STUDENT LEADERS, ACCORDING TO DENG, WERE FUNDAMENTALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DIRECTION OF EVENTS, BUT THEY DREW SUPPORT FROM OUTSIDE AS WELL, PARTICULARLY FROM HONG KONG AND TAIWAN. THERE WAS NO DIRECT MENTION OF THE U.S.A. THE CITIZEN, WHO HAS BEEN CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF EVENTS ALL ALONG, CONCLUDED THAT THE LEADERSHIP HAS REINTRODUCED THE IDEAS OF CLASS STRUGGLE AND WILL PERSIST IN THE CRACKDOWN FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. END SUMMARY.

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3. ON JUNE 19, A RATHER ORDINARY, MIDDLE-AGED CHINESE WHOM POLMILOFF HAS KNOWN FOR TWO YEARS PROVIDED A SKETCH OF HIS UNIT'S JUNE 17 STUDY SESSION. EVERYONE HAD TO FOLLOW CHAIRMAN DENG XIAOPING'S ANALYSIS OF THE APRIL/MAY EVENTS IN BEIJING. IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS THE CITIZEN HAS BEEN BOTH HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF EVENTS AND ANXIOUS ABOUT HIS TWO/TEENAGE CHILDREN, ONE OF WHOM SPENT A LOT OF TIME IN TIANNAMEN SQUARE. THE CITIZEN WHISPERED THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT OF THE STUDY SESSION OVER LUNCH AND PROMISED TO FILL IN SOME IMPORTANT POINTS LATER, AFTER TENSIONS EASED SOMEWHAT.

4. DENG'S ANALYSIS, IN THIS ACCOUNT OF HIS JUNE 9 SPEECH, FOCUSED ON THE MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM DEMANDS OF THE STUDENTS DURING APRIL AND MAY, AS DOCUMENTED IN THE "LAMPPOST COMMUNIQUES" THAT WERE DISPLAYED IN MANY PLACES IN BEIJING. EARLY '98, THE STUDENTS DECLARED THAT THEIR MOVEMENT SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS PATRIOTIC AND LEGAL. DENG POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH ASSERTIONS WERE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY:

-- "PATRIOTISM" ("AIGUO") IS NOT AN ABSTRACT CONCEPT, FOR ONE DOES NOT LOVE AN ABSTRACT COUNTRY. WHAT IS THE COUNTRY TO WHICH THE STUDENTS REFERRED? THEIR DEMANDS FOR FREEDOM SHOWED THE CONTENT TO BE BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM, NOT COMMUNISM. UNDER THE GUISE OF PATRIOTISM, THE STUDENTS WERE REALLY CALLING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DIFFERENT REPUBLIC WITH A DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEM, AND THAT IS COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY.

-- A "LEGAL MOVEMENT" IS ONE WHICH HAS LEGITIMATE ENDS AND MEANS, BUT THE STUDENTS CLEARLY VIOLATED LAWS. AKYU (QINGHOO)

SRIGVJQ:QSO ILLEGALLY OCCUPIED THE CENTER OF BEIJING, DISTURBED TRAFFIC, AND LEFT LOCAL TRAFFIC AND LAW OFFICIALS UNABLE TO DO THEIR WORK. AGAIN, THE PURPOSE OF THE MOVEMENT, AS PROVED IN SOME OF THEIR BANNERS, WAS TO TOPPLE THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY.

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5. DENG SAID THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT MORE CLEARLY REVEALED IN THEIR MAXIMUM DEMANDS, NAMELY, FOR:

-- A GOVERNMENT RUN BY THE ELITE, THE INTELLECTUALS, THE SO-CALLED MOST CAPABLE. HOWEVER, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA STIPULATES VERY CLEARLY THAT THE PRC IS LED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, NOT BY ANY OTHER GROUP OR CLASS. ANALYZED CORRECTLY, THE CALL FOR A RULE BY THE "MOST GIFTED" WAS REALLY A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CALL FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP ROLE;

-- A MULTIPARTY SYSTEM. THIS NEGATES THE CONSTITUTION WHICH INSISTS ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S LEADERSHIP OF OTHER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES.

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6. THROUGHOUT ITS COURSE, DENG REPORTEDLY OBSERVED, THE STUDENT MOVEMENT WAS AIMED BY ITS LEADERS GENERALLY AGAINST THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES, AND DIRECTLY AGAINST TWO OF THEM: THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN CHINA AND FOLLOWING THE SOCIALIST ROAD IN DEVELOPMENT. THE GOAL OF THE STUDENT LEADERS AND THE FEW "BLACK HANDS" BEHIND THEM WAS A TRANSITION TO A BOURGEOIS LIBERAL REPUBLIC OF CHINA. IN THIS GOAL, THE STUDENTS AND "BLACK HANDS" PICKED UP THE ACTIVE SUPPORT OF OUTSIDE ELEMENTS, PRIMARILY IN HONG KONG AND TAIWAN, WHICH WOULD STAND TO BENEFIT FROM THE SUCCESS OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES. THEREFORE, WHILE THE MOVEMENT OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES AND KUO-LIANGS HAS BASICALLY BEEN SUCCESSFULLY REPRESSED, THERE WILL BE A LONG PERIOD OF RELENTLESS STRUGGLE TO ROOT OUT BOURGEOIS LIBERALISM THOROUGHLY. THE ANALYSIS REPORTEDLY CONCLUDES.

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7. THE ORDINARY CITIZEN HAS CONCLUDED THAT THE LEADERSHIP HAS REINTRODUCED THE NOTION OF CLASS STRUGGLE, WITHOUT A LOWING THE PHRASE TO BE USED, AND IS PREPARED TO CONTINUE THE REPRESSION FOR

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A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. RESIGNATION IS REPLACING
ANGER IN THAT CITIZEN'S RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENTS.
EARLIER, ANGER WAS QUITE PALPABLE WHEN THAT
CITIZEN COMPLAINED WITH PHRASES LIKE, "THERE WAS
NO NEED TO DO THAT, NO NEED TO SEND TROOPS AND
TANKS," AND "WHO WAS IT THAT SIGNED THAT ORDER
TO HAVE THE TROOPS FIRE ON US CITIZENS AND OUR
CHILDREN?" NOW THE SAME PERSON MAKES STATEMENTS
SUCH AS "THERE IS NO HOPE, NOW, NOT FOR A LONG
TIME TO COME" AND "THERE IS NO EXIT, NO WAY OUT."
NOTE: IN A RECENT COMMENTARY, THE PEOPLE'S DAILY
USED THE PHRASE "CLASS STRUGGLE" IN EXPLAINING
WHY THERE HAD BEEN DISTURBANCES AND VIOLENCE IN
CITIES IN OTHER PARTS OF CHINA. END NOTE)

8. LASTLY, THE CITIZEN COMMENTED ON SOME OF
THE GRISLY PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE CHARRED, DISMEMBERED
REMAINS OF A FEW SOLDIERS FROM THE NIGHT OF JUNE 3-4.
THE CITIZEN SAID THAT THE COMMON PEOPLE ABHOR THE
VIOLENCE OF A FEW AGAINST THE TEEN-AGE SOLDIERS,
WHICH IN ONE INSTANCE NEAR MAOXI included
BREAKING BOTH OF THE SOLDIER'S LEGS AND BEATING
HIM SENSELESS FOR AN HOUR BEFORE FINALLY KILLING
HIM. THE CITIZEN CONCLUDED BY SAYING IT WAS NOT
THE YOUNG SOLDIERS THAT DESERVED HATRED BUT RATHER
THOSE WHO GAVE THE ORDERS.

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